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AMERICAN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

THE organization of labor is a question of massive proportions; that of labor organizations and their character, aims, and purposes, is one of more distinct and limited boundaries. The first belongs to the domain of speculative, evolutionary, and historical philosophy; the latter must deal with such facts as are accessible to the diligent student and inquirer, with the additional obligation of relating them as comprehensively as may be to a movement which, however vague and indefinite as yet in its proportions and properties, embraces issues fundamental to a just civilization and as broad as the very existence of an equitable social order. Such organizations, as distinguished from the more portentous movements that are prefigured to the mental shallowness of the sciolist who ventures to call himself a thinker, or to the affrighted consciousness of the unreflecting conservative, under the terrible names of Socialism, Communism, or that latter phase of horror, Anarchism,—shadows, all of them, that await only the illumination of free and fair debate to make them lose their more formidable aspects,—are almost entirely a product of that Anglo-Saxon civilization which constantly strives to adjust without revolutionary strain and to achieve without destructive violence and disorder.

Germany, the earlier home of the mediæval trade guilds, is permeated with political socialism. The skilled wage-workers of France are but just beginning to turn their attention to efforts at trade organization. “Chambres Syndical,” or trades-unions in the English sense, have but recently obtained a permanent foothold among the artisans of that country. Revolutionary and political aspects are still the most prominent features of French industrial discussion. In Spain, the “Black Band,” with its programme of overthrow, is the only one of impor-

tance. Italy and Austria have witnessed some efforts in the direction of protection and amelioration, but there is no very great or distinctive force therein. Russia is as yet out of this pale; but it holds forces, active or inert, that set it aside from the general drift of the more limited movement to be discussed in these pages. The *Mir** and the *Artel*† are to be considered from another stand-point. Belgium, of all European countries, is the only industrial community that has really taken hold practically of the labor movement and organization as it is understood, spoken of, and written about in Great Britain, the original home of that system of "labor partnership"‡ commonly called trades-unions.

The American student in this field will find no easy task before him, especially if his inquiries have been preceded by anything like an exhaustive study of the English labor movement. In Great Britain, indifference or active antagonism has been quite thoroughly overcome, and the public opinion of the land is at least intelligent, and has some commensurate idea of the issues involved. The British labor organizations have become a power not to be lightly considered. Thoughtful scholars, sympathetic politicians, and aspiring leaders, all alike find it of interest to debate, consider, or affiliate, with the labor movement and its leaders. But in the United States the whole movement has hardly reached the stage of toleration. It seems difficult for the great body of well-meaning, native-born citizens of mature years, who are not of the wage-earning order, to understand how enormous have been the changes in the very frame-work of industrial life, and in the simplest and most primal facts affecting the social conditions in which the wage-workers, especially of the great cities and manufacturing sections of the land, now find themselves, year by year, more and more completely environed. The successful middle-aged American carries within his memory, as a rule, associations as to his own early struggles quite at variance with those that would now wait on him were he about to enter the arena of competition, armed only with such forces as his natural physical powers, partial training, and moderately developed mental capacities,

* The Russian village and land commune.

† The guilds of artisans and workers that exist in all Russian trades and occupations, outside of agriculture.

‡ See Thorold Rogers's "Work and Wages."

might afford him at this time. Failing to put himself in the other man's place, the matured man of business is almost invariably narrow and unjust in his estimate of the motives and aims of the labor-union organizer. There is also a justifiable feeling against the effort to make metes and bounds in the way of class distinctions.

A little fact passing under my observation will sharply illustrate this. Some years since, while visiting Europe, I made the acquaintance of an American manufacturer. He was an elderly gentleman of great force of character and remarkable business ability. Though a man of the utmost personal kindness, he was absolutely brutal in his hostility to all labor movements. From what he said, there could be no question that he had expended and lost hundreds of thousands of dollars, during nearly fifty years of active business life, in embittered contest with the skilled laborers that he employed by hundreds. Yet he could but acknowledge, as he set forth the grounds of the struggle from his own stand-points, when a deliberate outsider called his attention to the laches he himself acknowledged, that the larger portion would have been wholly avoided by a recognition of the fact that labor was not a commodity to be dealt with as so much pig-iron or bar-lead. Again, he was evidently proud of the fact that his large fortune and extended business sphere had been the product of his own exertions. Indeed, he was the pioneer in, and almost the creator of, a great industry. A few years later the writer met this fellow-traveler again. He had just retired from business, after half a century of constant activity, transferring to his sons his furnaces, forges, and large shops. The value of these was estimated at one million dollars, and he had retired with a fortune of equal amount. In the course of conversation he said that he began life at eighteen on a borrowed capital of twenty-five dollars, employing a younger brother to assist him at the forge. This statement was given in proof of an assertion he was fond of making, to the effect that every man could succeed if he would, in this country, as he himself had done. Setting aside the *non sequitur* contained in the assertion of every man's succeeding, the old gentleman was asked: "What amount would be required nowadays to start a young man in this business, so that he might begin with something like the equality of effort and reasonable enterprise that attended your own earliest venture?"

The question rather confused our friend, but he rallied in a moment, and with amused frankness acknowledged that, with the appliances and machinery now required, nothing less than a capital of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars would be needed to make even a moderate venture possible. How much is expressed in these two sums, and what portentous changes they imply!

That the direct interests of labor, political, social, economic, and ethical, are becoming a matter of the largest public concern, is seen in the fact that, in some form or other, under one or the other shibboleth, the opinions and attitude of the wage-working "industrials" was the chief anxiety felt during the exciting political contest that has just closed. More positively than ever,—though it may be a question with many whether it has been more wisely,—the interests of labor, as a distinct series of issues, have been the one supreme topic of debate. This is a fact to be hailed with great relief by those who clearly perceive that the only way to prevent anarchy is to drag its possible cause into the forum; that to find remedy for evils affecting the body-politic, or any portion thereof, there must be open debate and amicable consideration. Deep-seated discontent cannot exist without as deep-seated causes. To understand these, we must probe and examine. This, then, is the era upon which we are entering. As a contribution to the greater debate that impends, the following facts and statements are presented, premising, however, that the statistics as to membership, etc., of the organizations under review are, much to the writer's regret, not of that assured authenticity which is required for a complete understanding. This much may be truthfully said of them, that they are within the bounds of fact, that no effort has been avoided to obtain more accurate data, and that they have at least the value of intelligent conjectural and analytical presentation. The difficulty encountered by the writer in his efforts to secure reliable statistics of labor organizations offers a vivid proof of the bitter spirit of antagonism that prevails. The friendly motive with which this information was sought has been acknowledged by all the officers of societies with whom correspondence was had, yet in several of the more important bodies—such as the iron and steel workers, the granite-cutters, or the Knights of Labor—all definite data were refused, on the distinct ground that the publication of their number, funds,

dues, expenditures, etc., would be the placing of weapons in the hands of employers, to be used to the injury of the trades-unionists. In striking contrast with this is the spirit with which such inquiries are now met in England. The great trades organizations therein, numbering in the aggregate, as represented in their annual congress, a membership of over two million persons, are always ready to give information and to make public the facts relative to membership, funds, expenditures, etc. Of course, they do not make their administrative details or policy matters for public oversight, any more than do the directors of a bank give to the enterprising reporter the reason why they may have refused to negotiate a line of loans. However, diligent inquiry has enabled the writer to present the following approximate table and statements, relating to trades and labor organizations within the United States, in the qualified sense employed in this paper:

<i>Trades Organizations.</i>	<i>Membership.</i>		<i>Headquarters.</i>
	<i>(o) Official.</i>	<i>(e) Estimated.</i>	
INTERNATIONAL BODIES.			
Iron and Steel Workers.....	42,000	(e) ..	Pittsburg, Pa.
Engineers (British).....	5,000	(e) ..	New York & London.
Carpenters (British).....	7,000	(e) ..	New York & London.
Typographical Union.....	11,930	(o) ..	St. Louis, Mo.
Seamen's Union.....	7,000	(e) ..	Chicago, Ill.
Cigarmakers' Union.....	14,000	(o) ..	New York.
Coopers' Union.....	7,000	(e) ..	Cleveland, O.
Bricklayers and Masons.....	12,000	(o) ..	Cincinnati, O.
Granite-cutters.....	6,000	(o) ..	Quincy, Mass.
Glass-workers.....	7,000	(e) ..	Pittsburg, Pa.
Furniture-workers.....	9,000	(o) ..	New York.
Locomotive Engineers.....	12,200	(o) ..	Cleveland, O.
Locomotive Firemen.....	12,000	(o) ..	Terre Haute, Ind.
Railroad Conductors.....	7,000	(e) ..	Not known.
Railroad Brakemen and Employés..	18,000	(e) ..	Philadelphia.
Knights of Labor (Federation).....	150,000	(e) ..	Philadelphia.
International Workingmen's Ass'n..	20,000	(e) ..	San Francisco, Cal.
NATIONAL BODIES.			
Iron-molders.....	14,000	(e) ..	Pittsburg, Pa.
Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners.	7,000	(o) ..	New York.
Plasterers.....	7,000	(e) ..	
Plumbers.....	3,000	(e) ..	New York.
Tinsmiths.....	3,000	(e) ..	New York.
Laborers (chiefly building trades)...	25,000	(e) ..	New York.
Horseshoers (includes Blacksmiths.)	19,000	(e) ..	Baltimore, Md.
Boiler-makers & Iron-Ship-builders..	17,000	(e) ..	Not known.

<i>Trades Organizations.</i>	<i>Membership.</i>		<i>Headquarters.</i>
NATIONAL BODIES.	(o) <i>Official.</i>	(e) <i>Estimated.</i>	
Stationary Engineers.....	1,700 (e)	..	New York.
Metal-workers.....	8,000 (e)	..	Philadelphia, Pa.
Ship-carpenters.....	2,000 (e)	..	Not known.
German Typographical Union.....	3,000 (e)	..	New York.
Telegraphers, Operators and Linemen	10,000 (e)	..	
Coal Miners, State and National....	60,000 (e)	..	{ Pittsburg and points in different States.
Progressive Cigarmakers.....	9,000 (o)	..	New York.
Mule-spinners (cotton factories)....	5,000 (e)	..	Fall River, Mass.
Cotton Weavers (cotton factories)..	5,000 (e)	..	Fall River, Mass.
Silk Weavers.....	1,200 (e)	..	Paterson, N. J.
Tailors, N. U.....	18,000 (e)	..	Philadelphia, Pa.
Upholsterers.....	3,500 (e)	..	New York.
Harness-makers.....	1,500 (e)	..	Not known.
Paper-hangers.....	3,000 (e)	..	New York.
House-painters.....	10,000 (e)	..	New York.
Shoemakers, Lasters, etc.....	12,000 (e)	..	Not known.
Bakers.....	2,500 (e)	..	New York.
Brewers.....	2,000 (e)	..	New York.
There are small trades, locally organized, chiefly in the large cities, whose number is difficult to ascertain, and many of whom are federated with trades assem- blies and central labor unions. They may be understated at.....	75,000 (e)		
The Socialistic Labor Party (Amer- ican) and the Social Democrats may be estimated at.....	25,000 (e)		.. Baltimore, New York, and Chicago.
Total estimate.....	611,530		

The foregoing table is not put forward as anything but an approximate statement of the numbers embraced within well-known labor organizations. Some deductions must be made for those who are members of more than one organization, as are, for instance, many of the Knights of Labor, the "Internationale," or the Socialist Labor party. Probably fifty thousand duplications are thus given. But there are numerous bodies, small in number, perhaps, which should fairly come within the scope of an estimate, but about which so little is known that it is preferable to make no statement. It will not be an exaggeration, however, to claim a practical unity, mainly of the direct trades-union character, of at least six hundred thousand members. Leaving out of the count, then, the agricultural laborers,

nearly four millions in number, and also the laboring force employed in commerce, stores, and trading generally, the domestic help and the other miscellaneous wage-workers, the following figures will give all the pursuits with which organizations in the foregoing table are in any way affiliated. They are taken from the Federal census of 1880, and embrace those employed in the occupations that have in some sort come to be associated in the minds of economists and students with the term "industrials," as contradistinguished from agricultural, trading, and domestic employments. According to the census, there were employed at wages in mechanical and manufacturing establishments the following: Males above sixteen years, 2,019,035; males below sixteen years, 181,921; females above sixteen years, 531,639:

In mines, males above 16	195,968
In mines, males below 16	24,507
In quarrying, males above 16	38,945
In quarrying, males below 16	728
In petroleum wells, adult males	11,477
In petroleum refineries, etc., males above 16	9,498
In petroleum refineries, etc., males below 16	346
In petroleum refineries, etc., females above 16	25

RAILROAD EMPLOYÉS RECEIVING WAGES FOR MECHANICAL ENGINEERING AND SUCH OTHER SKILLED LABOR.

Trainmen. Locomotive engineers, adult males	18,977
Trainmen. Conductors, adult males	12,419
Trainmen. Firemen, and all others, adult males	48,254
Trackmen. Layers, repairers, etc., adult males	122,486
Shopmen. Machinists, adult males	22,766
Shopmen. Carpenters, adult males	23,202
Shopmen. Other mechanics and laborers, adult males	43,746
Shopmen. Miscellaneous day-wage men, adult males	51,619

IN NAVIGATION.

Seamen and others employed in United States waters	55,453
Seamen and others employed in State waters	636
Seamen and others employed on canals	722
Telegraph and telephone employés (about one-fourth females) ...	18,286
Total	<u>2,932,785</u>

By the foregoing statistics it will be seen that on a moderate presentation the trades-unions and other labor organizations

embrace fully one in five of the skilled wage-workers engaged in the above-named great branches of industry. This estimate will not, however, cover the ratio of their influence, especially in the large centers of activity. The artisans, mechanics, and laborers that remain without their pale are mainly those employed in the rural districts and the smaller towns, or in those sections and occupations that are but just beginning to comprehend the great changes produced by the transfer of economic forces from an agricultural civilization to one of a more purely industrial character. Such, for instance, are the artisans of the villages, wherein a workman may yet readily pass from being a hired man to a self-employing position; or the operatives in newly opened factory districts like those of the South; or, to come nearer home, of that portion, for instance, of central New York, wherein during a few years past many of the towns and villages have begun their transition from trading-points to factory and mechanical centers. In the larger cities and local centers of industrial life, many of the great trades-unions will be found to have brought nearly every member of the different crafts within their several folds. This is almost entirely true of occupations like the building trades, and of the printers, furniture-workers, etc., in which the laborers are still handicraftsmen, so far as their skill is concerned; or of great pursuits like those of the glass or iron workers, wherein machinery can be employed only as an adjunct to and not a superseder of man and his trained capacity in a given direction. The employments in which protective mutualism finds it difficult to organize effectually, are such as the cotton, woolen, and shoe factories, wherein the use of machinery has made mere human tenders of the operatives employed; or in such industries as the making of garments, wherein light-handed and comparatively unskilled labor, such as that of women and children, embodies the very worst features of an utterly selfish competition, and leaves the workers almost entirely at the mercy of "sweaters" and "middle-men." In other great occupations, like that of mining, the employés of which in England and Scotland are among the best organized, best paid, and most intelligent of wage-workers and trades-unionists, causes are at work within the United States, such as arise from corporate power and monopoly combinations, bringing under one direction the ownership of mines and railroads, transportation and traffic, produc-

tion and distribution, that have heretofore prevented any effectual protective organization of such labor, and which, in all probability, will continue so to do, until the time comes when society clearly perceives the need of its resuming the functions now exercised by irresponsible corporations.

The table already given indicates the existence of organizations differing in character or method, and presumably, in some cases, in aims also. Those grouped as international unions are, with a few exceptions, confined to this hemisphere, and aim only at trades-union results. The exceptions are the local and national affiliates of the amalgamated engineers and carpenters, bodies whose general head-quarters are in England, and whose membership is almost wholly British. The international characteristics of the others, with such exceptions as are indicated, are designed to cover the workers in Canada, Mexico, the West Indies, and Central America.

The glass-workers, whether they are organized as part of the Knights of Labor or in a separate body, have recently made connection with their fellow-craftsmen in Belgium and England. The international organizations that are something more than protective, and look toward ameliorative or reconstructive processes, as remedies for the acknowledged evils of a merely competitive life, embraced within the table, are the Knights of Labor, the International Workingmen's Association,—whether in the “Red,” or Karl Marx mold, or in the “Black,” or Bakunine form,—and the Social Democratic party, as shaped by Lasalle originally, and having affiliations with the German socialists on the one side, and the British radicals, of whom Hyndman and Morris the poet are now the leaders and representatives, on the other. It is not proposed to discuss the organization, aims, and character of these latter bodies and movements, as they belong to another aspect of this subject, and should be considered under the more ample field of the organization of labor. But they are widely influencing the opinions of intelligent and organized workmen, and in a marked degree affecting the views of many that are not so classified. It will be found, on close inquiry, that the representative men of the International, for instance, in this country, are quite as often lawyers, writers, followers of professional pursuits, or engaged in commercial occupations, as they are affiliates of the wage-working avocations. The Social Democrats have, also, a considerable admixture of the same social grades, while what is

herein classified as the Socialistic Labor party seems to be almost wholly related to the wage-working pursuits. It is confined to a few of the large cities. The International is more widely extended, and one of its chief centers of action is the city of San Francisco, in which a monthly magazine, under the title of "Truth," is published. One, and probably the most extreme publication, in English, of the "anarchist" school, is that of "Justice," a weekly, edited by Mr. Tucker.

Another international body with constructive aims deserves more than mere mention, because its organization and movement is of an American character, and proceeds on the lines that seem to be necessary to our political life and republican spirit. The Knights of Labor is a secret but not oath-bound association. It is both federal and national,—federative by the trades and pursuits it brings under its shield, and national by reason of the extent and purpose of its organization. Its international phase is but just budding, having grown especially out of an affiliated trade, the window-glass-workers, and their efforts to prevent a disastrous competition in wages by the importation of Belgium workers. This was met by organizing local assemblies of this trade in England and Belgium. The exact membership of the Knights of Labor is not given; but about four thousand five hundred local assemblies are reported, and as many of them contain from one hundred to several hundred members, it is not an exaggeration to say that they will average about thirty-five members each. The federal character of the body is obtained, so far as developed, by the unity of different trades under the control of separate district assemblies, and by the general organization, under the same form, of mixed and trades assemblies governed by districts formed through civic and local needs. For instance, the window-glass-workers, wherever located, are all Knights of Labor, and the several local bodies are under the direction of their district assembly at Pittsburg. The shoemakers are also affiliated or federated in this way, the largest body being under a district assembly in Massachusetts. The coal-miners in many sections are similarly organized, and so with other trades. Cigarette-makers are generally enrolled in this body. There are many local assemblies of printers, book-binders, carpenters, bakers, and other occupations, also, not largely related to or connected with trades-unions in the definite sense. Mixed local assemblies are made up of different occupations. All persons that work for a living are eligible to mem-

bership, except lawyers, bankers, and liquor-sellers. The National Assembly, which meets at cities selected by the assembly preceding, has contained in the last two sessions delegates whose occupations embraced medicine, the pulpit, journalism, teaching, manufacturing, trading, and many of the skilled and prominent trades and handicrafts. The present executive body is more distinctly confined to tradesmen, in the labor sense, than others that have preceded it. The order makes no distinction of sex or race. It is actively pushing its organization among the colored workers, and with the woman "industrials" of the cities. It is opposed to strikes, is non-partisan though political (in the agitating sense), and its platform of principles favors coöperation, though at present there is no distinctive movement in that direction. On the contrary, a spirit of hostility toward such efforts has been developed, owing probably to the active endeavors of the State Socialists, who predominate largely in New York City, Chicago, Cincinnati, and San Francisco. Trades-unionism proper has recently become a more marked element and force within the Knights of Labor, the chief success of which has heretofore been found in taking up and organizing the trades and occupations that are somewhat, perhaps necessarily, neglected by the large trade-unions. The value of the order to the labor movement in the United States is in this direction, and also in the manner in which it compels a recognition of a unity of interests among all grades of laborers. The platform annexed covers with sufficient accuracy the general ameliorative demands of all the labor organizations and of leading representatives.

1. To bring within the fold of organization every department of productive industry, making knowledge a stand-point for action, and industrial, moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.

2. To secure to the toilers a proper share of the wealth that they create; more of the leisure that rightfully belongs to them; more society advantages; more of the benefits, privileges, and emoluments of the world; in a word, all those rights and privileges necessary to make them capable of enjoying, appreciating, defending, and perpetuating the blessing of good government.

3. To arrive at the true condition of the productive masses in their educational, moral, and financial condition, by demanding from various governments the establishment of bureaus of labor statistics.

4. The establishment of coöperative institutions productive and distributive.

5. The reserving of the public lands, the heritage of the people, for the actual settler. Not another acre for railroads or corporations.

6. The abrogation of all the laws that do not bear equally upon capital and labor; the removal of unjust technicalities of justice; and the adopting of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, and building pursuits.

7. The enactment of laws to compel chartered corporations to pay their employes weekly, in full, for labor performed the preceding week, in the lawful money of the country.

8. The enactment of laws giving mechanics and laborers the first lien on their work for their full wages.

9. The abolishment of the contract system on national, State, and municipal work.

10. The substitution of arbitration for strikes, whenever and wherever employers and employes are willing to meet on equitable grounds.

11. The prohibition of the employment, in workshops, mines, and factories, of children that have not attained their fourteenth year.

12. To abolish the system of letting out by contract the labor of convicts in our prisons and reformatory institutions.

13. To secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work.

14. The reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day, so that the laborers may have more time for society enjoyment and intellectual improvement, and be enabled to reap the advantages conferred by the labor-saving machinery which their brains have created.

15. To prevail on governments to establish a purely national circulating medium, issued directly to the people, without the intervention of any system of banking corporation, which money shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private.

It is not to be asserted, however, that compliance with these demands would satisfy. The careful study of the evidence taken in New York last autumn (1883) by the U. S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, of which Senator Blair of New Hampshire is chairman, will convince one that the larger number of the thinking men in the labor ranks are more or less imbued with such socialist ideas as the Henry George state ownership and control of the land; the Karl Marx assertion of a common property in railroads, telegraphs, and banks, as well as in the land, mines, and waters; or in the Lasalle doctrine of the duty and right of the state to own and organize the great machinery of industrial pursuits, so as to prevent the existence of capitalists as a class and of capitalism as the controlling force in economic life and order.

Another phase of labor organization, and a very marked one, is the tendency toward federation. Early in October, 1884, the fourth annual session of the "Federation of Organized Trades

and Labor Unions" met in Chicago. Article II. of its Constitution sets forth the following objects :

"SECTION 1. The encouragement and formation of trades and labor unions.

"SEC. 2. The encouragement and formation of trades and labor assemblies or councils.

"SEC. 3. The encouragement and formation of State and provincial federations of trades and labor unions.

"SEC. 4. The encouragement and formation of national and international trades-unions.

"SEC. 5. To secure legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes."

Its platform, or declaration of principles, is more comprehensive even than that of the Knights of Labor, but does not differ essentially from that document. It demands eight hours as a day's work ; asks for national and State incorporation of trades-unions ; favors obligatory education of all children, and the prohibition of their employment under the age of fourteen ; the enactment of uniform apprentice laws ; opposes bitterly all contract convict labor, and the truck or goods system in payment of wages ; demands laws giving the workman a first lien "upon property, the product of his labor" ; the abrogation of all so-called conspiracy laws ; the establishment of a national bureau of labor and statistics ; the prohibition of the importation of alien labor ; opposes government contracts on public works ; favors the adoption by States of an employers' liability act, and urges all labor bodies to vote only for labor legislators.

This body had representatives, at its last meeting, of the machinists, printers, carpenters, coopers, cigarmakers, iron-molders, lake seamen, masons, granite-cutters, and of local trades assemblies and central unions, as well as of the Knights of Labor. It aims to take the same position in American labor organization that the British Trades Congress does toward labor affairs in that country. Besides this body, which seems to be gradually taking shape as labor's central and national exponent and representative, there are, in all of the large cities, in many important towns, and in some States, deliberative and representative bodies, with legislative powers, in which are embraced many small trades and unions not yet nationalized. The most important of these is the Central Labor Union of New York City, in which nearly one hundred thousand wage-

workers are represented. There are State assemblies in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, and probably two or three other States.

The whole movement is undergoing a rapid and healthy change. It is coming out of the twilight of separatism into the daylight of united action and public discussion. It has a literature of its own, fugitive as yet, perhaps, but of an extent and character that will surprise those who have made no examination of the subject. There are seventeen monthly journals, published by the executives of as many unions and societies. In addition to these special organs, there is one daily, "The Laborer," of Haverhill, Mass.; and several weeklies, "The Craftsman," the "Labor Tribune," and others, published at Washington and Pittsburg, which are distinctively the organs of the great trades, such as the printers, miners, iron and steel workers, iron-molders, glass-workers, etc. The two great organizations of cigarmakers publish monthly journals, and both are remarkably well edited. The locomotive engineers and firemen issue handsome monthly magazines. The Carpenters' Brotherhood also issues a well-edited monthly. The Knights of Labor issue the "Journal of United Labor." In addition to these and others, there are nearly four hundred weeklies that are in sympathy with the labor organizations in some one or all of their methods. Recently a large number of these papers have formed a "Labor Press Association." They do not use the wires as yet, but by a judicious use of the mails are able to supply one another with a great deal of interesting news, much of it of value as showing the condition of labor, the places where the market is crowded, or the trades in which men are needed. All this has grown out of a feeling that the ordinary press is hostile and presents the action of labor from the point of antagonism. There are four German dailies, one each in New York and Philadelphia, and two in Chicago. There is also a weekly supporting the anarchistic agitation, and a German monthly published in San Francisco. The internationalist organ is the German "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of Chicago, while that of the Social Democrats is the "Volks-Zeitung" of New York.

In this paper only the facts in relation to American labor organizations have been rapidly and perhaps imperfectly outlined. Enough has been presented, though, to show the character and significance of the labor movement, and to show that it is

essentially peaceful and law-abiding. It is, however, absolutely necessary for the well-being of society itself that a more candid and generous attitude should be taken than has heretofore been held toward what is known somewhat loosely, not to say flip-pantly, as the "Labor Movement." It must not be forgotten that the men of labor are of necessity the conservators and defenders of order, and that their disaffection must threaten in a serious degree the very existence of the present form of society and civilization. Capital apparently fails to recall the fact that from the ranks of labor come the constable and the soldier, by whose services and sacrifice it is, in the last resort, alone secure.

RICHARD J. HINTON.